

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 DAR ES 01516 131232Z
ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T DAR ES SALAAM 1516

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, RH, US, TZ
SUBJECT: "US POWER" AS AN ELEMENT IN A RHODESIAN SOLUTION:
NYERERE'S VIEW

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 1497

1. SUMMARY: NYERERE PLACES ALMOST MYSTICAL PREMIUM ON ROLE OF "US POWER" IN GETTING NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF RHODESIAN SITUATION. WE MAY NOT WISH TAILOR OUR APPROACH TO HIS PARTICULAR CONCEPTS. HOWEVER, THE MORE WE CAN TELL HIM ABOUT WHAT WE BELIEVE WE WILL BE ABLE TO DO, THE MORE COOPERATION WE CAN EXPECT. AT THE PROPER TIME, A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OR THE SECRETARY EXPRESSING UNDERSTANDING OF NYERERE'S VIEWS AND OUTLINING THE BOUNDS WITHIN WHICH WE EXPECT TO EXERCISE OUR POWER WOULD BE USEFUL. END SUMMARY.

2. IN REVIEWING REFTEL AND MY NOTES OF LONG APRIL 12 CONVERSATION WITH NYERERE ON RHODESIA, I BELIEVE I SEE A LINE OF THOUGHT WHICH CAN BE STATED MORE SHARPLY THAN IT APPEARED IN REFTEL. IT RUNS LIKE THIS.

3. NYERERE IS CONVINCED THAT THE ONLY HOPE OF SUCESS FOR OWEN'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE APPROACH -- OR ANY OTHER EFFORT AT NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA -- LIES IN THE APPLICATION OF "US

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POWER" WHICH HAS COME TO HAVE AN ALMOST MYSTICAL APPEAL TO NYERERE. BEFORE GETTING MUCH DEEPER INTO THE PRESENT EFFORT, HE WANTS TO KNOW AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE ABOUT HOW THIS WILL BE DONE. HE INDICATED THAT ONE MAJOR REASON FOR THIS WAS SO HE COULD CONVINCE THE NATIONALISTS, ESPECIALLY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, TO COOPERATE.

4. NYERERE CONTINUES TO BELIEVE DEEPLY THAT NO SETTLEMENT CAN EVER BE NEGOTIATED WITH SMITH. IN TERMS OF US POWER, THEREFORE, HIS THOUGHTS RUN AS FOLLOWS. HE DOES NOT FAVOR OPEN US PARTICIPATION IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, INTER ALIA, BECAUSE HE FEARS IT WOULD TIE THE US TOO CLOSELY TO THE BRITISH AND LIMIT US FLEXIBILITY IN APPLYING POWER. RATHER, HE WANTS THE US TO ENSURE THAT THE UK GOES ON WITH THE CONFERENCE EVEN IF SMITH REFUSES TO ATTEND. IF A CONSTITUTION IS DRAWN UP WITHOUT SMITH, NYERERE WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE US UNDERWRITE A TOKEN BRITISH TROOP INTERVENTION WHICH HE IS CONVINCED WOULD BE THE END OF SMITH. IF THIS WERE NOT POSSIBLE, HE MIGHT EVEN ENDORSE USE OF US TROOPS. IF SOME EFFECTIVE EXERCISE OF US POWER SHORT OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENT COULD BE DEvised, HE WOULD FAVOR THAT. HOWEVER, HE HASN'T BEEN ABLE TO THINK OF ANY SUCH YET AND HE WONDERS IF WE HAVE SOMETHING IN MIND.

5. CLEARLY, THERE IS NO REASON WHY WE SHOULD TAILOR OUR APPROACH TO SUIT NYERERE'S PARTICULAR CONCEPTIONS, EXPECIALLY SINCE (A) THERE ARE OTHER EQUAL OR MORE IMPORTANT PARTIES TO THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM, AND (B) NYERERE IS FOCUSSED ENTIRELY ON HIS GOALS FOR ZIMBABWE AND CARES LITTLE OR NOTHING ABOUT THE BROADER CONSEQUENCES FOR US AND THE BRITISH OF ANY ACTIONS BY US THAT HE THINKS WILL ACHIEVE THAT END. (FOR INSTANCE, IN APRIL 12 CONVERSATION HE SAID IN PASSING: "YOU SHOULD THINK VERY DEEPLY ABOUT YOUR BASIC OBJECTIVE IN RHODESIA. IS IT TO HELP THE BRITISH GET OUT OF A MESS, TO SERVE YOUR OWN GLOBAL INTERESTS, OR TO ENSURE INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE?")

6. AT THE SAME TIME, IF WE ARE IN FACT PREPARED TO EXERT SOME CONSIDERABLE PORTION OF OUR NATIONAL WEIGHT ON THE RHODESIAN SITUATION

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TION, THE MORE WE ARE ABLE TO TELL NYERERE ABOUT HOW WE INTEND TO DO SO, THE MORE SUPPORT AND COOPERATION WE CAN EXPECT FROM HIM. WE MAY WISH TO AVOID POSITIVE SPECIFICS, ALTHOUGHT IF WE, LIKE THE BRITISH, ABSOLUTELY RULE OUT INVOLVEMENT OF AMERICAN FORCES IN ANY WAY, IT MIGHT EVEN BE USEFUL TO GIVE HIM THIS NEGATIVE. CERTAINLY, SOME EXPRESSION OF OUR UNDERSTANDING OF HIS VIEWS AND OF THE BOUNDS WITHIN WHICH WE EXPECT TO USE OUR POWER WOULD BE HELPFUL AS SOON AS THIS IS POSSIBLE. IN MY VIEW, A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OR THE SECRETARY AFTER DR. OWEN HAS COMPLETED HIS CONSULTATIONS AND REPORTED BACK WOULD BE AN EXCELLENT FORM FOR SUCH AN EXPRESSION.

SPAIN

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